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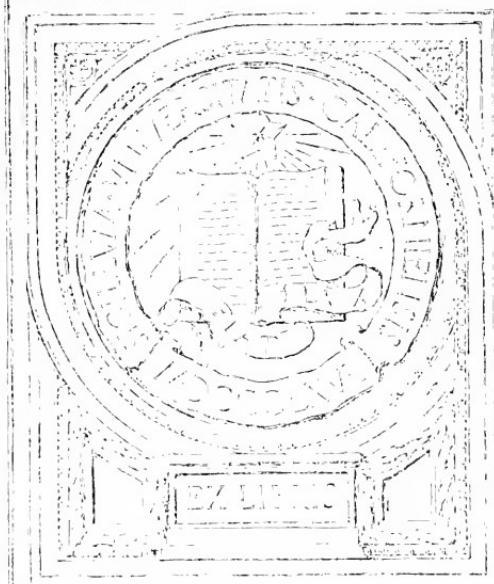


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An Address Delivered Before the
American Peace Society

by
William Jay

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
AT LOS ANGELES



AN

A D D R E S S

DELIVERED BEFORE THE

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,

AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 26, 1845.

BY WILLIAM JAY.

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A D D R E S S .

GENTLEMEN OF THE SOCIETY:—

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PERMIT me, on appearing before you, in obedience to the call with which I have[®] been honored, to congratulate you on the encouragement afforded by the signs of the times, for perseverance in your benevolent and Christian labors. There was a season within the recollection of many now present, when almost the whole civilized world was one vast camp; when war rolled its bloody surges from the pyramids of Egypt to the Kremlin of Moscow; and human destruction seemed to be the great purpose of Christendom. Our own country became at last involved in the mighty strife; and it may be safely asserted, that in the year 1813 there was scarcely a Christian state in Europe or America that was not employing its energies and resources in the work of misery, desolation and death.

For the last thirty years, the world has been blessed with a general peace, interrupted only by a few brief and partial struggles. Never, probably, within an equal time, have the arts which minister to human comfort advanced with such rapidity, or been so extensively diffused. In vain shall we search the annals of our race to find a period in which the

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necessaries of life and the elements of learning were so generally enjoyed, and in which there was less violence, cruelty and oppression, than at the present day.

Whatever may be the vices and sufferings of the age in which we live, I know of no page in modern or ancient history, which the philanthropist and the Christian can contemplate with more complacency than that which contains the records of the present time.

Various causes have contributed to the existing pacific state of the world. The extension of commerce, and the consequent distribution of private property in foreign lands ; the rapidity and facility of intercourse between distant countries through the agency of steam ; the growing intelligence and influence of the popular masses, together with the power of the press in modelling and directing public opinion, have all united in checking a belligerent spirit. But beyond all question, the labors of peace societies in Great Britain and the United States, in spreading before the public facts and arguments illustrating the cost, folly and sinfulness of war, have exerted a most salutary influence. The mere statistics so extensively circulated by these societies, and the appeals which they have made to the several sovereigns of Europe, have excited unwonted attention, and have tended to produce the conviction, now so generally entertained, that war is a great evil ; and this conviction has been followed by the inquiry, whether it be indeed a *necessary* evil.

But although these societies have effected much, it must not be supposed that either their principles or their object are universally approved. War has still its champions, and peace societies their opponents. Not a few who profess to be learned in human nature, speak of us as amiable but silly enthusiasts, for thinking that the career of rapine and ambition may be checked by appeals to the conscience and the understanding. If the wisdom of this world be folly with

God, we may well endure the reproach of not making it the rule of our conduct.

From a far different quarter comes an unfriendly voice, warning us that voluntary associations like ours, are in contempt of the authority and in derogation of the moral influence of the Christian church. This solemn annunciation is founded on the assumption that the church is the grand instrument, ordained by God, for the regeneration of the world, and of course that she alone is authorized to devise and control the agencies which may be employed for the promotion of morality and religion. Hence it is insisted that peace societies, and similar associations aiming at moral reform, but at the same time wholly independent of ecclesiastical authority, are guilty of usurping the prerogatives, and contemning the jurisdiction of the church. The offence is moreover aggravated, when the association, as in the present instance, is, as the objector asserts, not confined to members of the only true church, but embraces within its bosom heretics and schismatics, and cordially avails itself of their co-operation. The charge is a grave one, and as no end, however righteous, can justify the use of unlawful means, it is a most legitimate inquiry, how far this Society is, in its constitution and character, at variance with the will of God. The objection to voluntary and miscellaneous associations is, it is believed, universal in the Romish Church, and it is also made by no small number of Protestant clergymen. An inquiry into the validity of this objection particularly forces itself upon the speaker, inasmuch as it is urged with earnestness, and sometimes with asperity,* by a portion of the

* The spirit manifested towards these associations, by certain individuals, professing to be *Protestant* Episcopalians, may be seen in the editorials and communications of "The Churchman," a paper edited by a Doctor of Divinity, under the special supervision, and enjoying the declared approbation of the Rt. Rev. Benjamin T. Onderdonk, of New

clergy of that church of which he is a member. Such an inquiry will, moreover, be found directly subservient to our great object, by showing the awful delinquencies of the CHURCH on the subject of war, and by directing the attention of her members to the duty of repentance and reformation.

Whatever may be the theological definition of the term, *church*, it practically means, in the objection we are considering, the CLERGY themselves; and the argument against us, in plain English, is simply this, that God has established an order of men, whose exclusive office it is, by the use of certain means, to turn mankind from sin to holiness; and that all associations for moral and religious reforms, of which they do not form an essential and constituent part, and over which they do not exercise a certain control, are invasions of their prerogatives, and are consequently unlawful and schismatic.

None will question either the right or the duty of the clergy to urge upon their hearers the great doctrines and principles of the gospel; and few Protestants will question the right or the duty of those hearers to apply these doctrines and principles to their own conduct, according to the dictates

York. The editor (Dec. 28, 1844), after quoting from another paper that "few Episcopalians, and no Roman Catholics, were seen among the one thousand seven hundred delegates" to a convention at Baltimore, for promoting the observance of the Sabbath, exultingly remarks, "The fact stated above, though a small matter, seems to show the growth of sound principles among us. Time was, when such a convention would have had more than a few Episcopalians among its members; and time will be, we hope, when all our people will be as consistent in regard to such *amalgamations* as Roman Catholics!" The same paper, not long since, contained a virulent assault upon Bible Societies, in which an Episcopal church in the city of New York was declared to have been "PROSTITUTED," because its pastor had preached in it a sermon in behalf of the New York Bible Society. Similar arrogance of invective against voluntary associations has been frequently exhibited by clergymen of the Established Church in England.

of their judgment and conscience. When we are exhorted, in the language of Scripture, to "do good unto all men," it becomes us to devise liberal things according to our means and opportunities. But I have not yet seen the commission constituting the clergy our almoners, or empowering them to dictate the nature and extent of our benevolent efforts. Such a commission would, in a great measure, destroy all moral obligation, except that of obedience to ecclesiastical authority, and would be at variance with the declaration that "every one of us shall give account of himself to God." If such a commission now exists, it has of course existed from the establishment of Christianity; and hence whatever was required of our ancestors centuries since, may be rightfully required of us at the present day; whence it follows that those to whom this commission has been given, must in all ages be infallible guides. If this be admitted, and it seems a most legitimate conclusion, the unlawfulness, not merely of our association, but of our very object, is settled beyond a cavil, since military glory and the profession of arms have received the express sanction, warrant and approbation of the church, through the greater part of her existence.

That men, to whom is committed the ministry of reconciliation, and who claim to be the chosen and especial servants of the Prince of Peace, should themselves, from century to century, be actively employed in exciting the malignant passions of mankind; in cherishing a desire for martial distinction, and in visiting upon the world the desolations of war, is indeed most melancholy and mysterious. Let us learn from the humiliating fact, the deceitfulness of the human heart.

There are strong historical reasons for believing, that in the primitive church war was for a while regarded as forbidden by the gospel, and that Christians, whether clergy or laity, consequently refused to bear arms. From the fourth

century, however, to the present day, Christians have been but little distinguished from heathens, by their reluctance to engage in mortal combat, either among themselves or with others. Strange as it may seem, the church has taken pains not to discourage, but to foster and dignify the love for war. Of the truth of this assertion, chivalry of itself affords abundant proof. This was an institution peculiarly favored by the church. Vigils, prayers, fasts and confessions ordinarily formed an essential part of the ceremony of initiation to knighthood. Often the new-made knight was conducted in state to the church, where, after hearing mass, he presented his sword to the bishop or priest, by whom it was blessed and consecrated. Yet these religious knights were constantly found in contending armies, cutting each other's throats with their consecrated swords.

For about three hundred years, the popes were preaching crusades for the recovery of our Saviour's sepulchre at Jerusalem : and probably the history of the world contains no records of wars more wicked, cruel and detestable, than those which the church honored with the epithet of "Holy!" These wars were excited and applauded by popes, councils, bishops, and indeed by the whole body of the European clergy, with scarcely an individual exception out of the Greek Church. The treasury of the Vicar of Christ was unlocked to bribe Christians to slaughter the inhabitants of Palestine. "Let such as are going to fight for Christianity," said Urban II, addressing a vast multitude, "put the form of the cross upon their garments, that they may outwardly demonstrate the love arising from their inward faith ; enjoying, by the gift of God, and the privilege of St. Peter, absolution from all their crimes. Let this, in the meantime, soothe the labors of the journey, satisfied that they shall obtain after death the advantages of a blessed martyrdom. Those who may die, will enter the mansions of heaven,

while the living shall behold the sepulchre of the Lord. Let every one mark on his breast or back the sign of the Lord's cross, in order that the saying may be fulfilled, 'He who takes up the cross and follows me, is worthy of me.' " *

In obedience to the exhortations, and prompted by the promises of the church, literally *millions* set off for the conquest of the Holy Land, first marking their garments with the emblem of salvation. The assured absolution of crimes seems to have led to their indefinite multiplication. Never before or since has Europe witnessed such a horde of plunderers and murderers as these soldiers of the cross. The poet and the novelist, the sculptor and the painter, have conspired to array the crusader with a holy zeal, and a noble heroism; but the relentless hand of the faithful historian tears from him his brilliant disguises, and exhibits him as a sanguinary ruffian, at once the slave of superstition and of passion. If the accounts given by contemporary writers, of the extreme profligacy of the great mass of the crusaders, be entitled to credit, and there is no reason to doubt their veracity, it must be admitted, however humiliating the confession, that in morals, humanity and good faith, the Christian invaders of Syria were surpassed by its Mohammedan defenders.

It is difficult to form even an estimate of the destruction of human life occasioned by these terrific wars. History indeed assures us, that in the first three years of the first crusade, 850,000 Christians perished by famine, pestilence and the sword. But the contest was protracted for about two hundred years, in which time no less than nine great armaments left Europe, bent on the slaughter of the Mussulmen, and the recovery of the sepulchre. These crusaders

* These promises of absolution and of the glories of martyrdom were renewed to the crusaders by subsequent popes.

were accompanied by vast numbers of the clergy; nor did bishops hesitate to clothe themselves in mail, and to emulate the knights in deeds of daring and of blood. Millions of Christians and of Saracens were sacrificed in these insane wars, while the church was continually calling for more victims. At last the invaders were all slain or driven away. Not a Christian in arms remained in Palestine; yet even then, the pope, learning neither wisdom nor humanity from the melancholy experience of two hundred years, called for a tenth crusade. Happily the call met with no response, the Christians of Europe refusing to renew the murderous strife, even at the command of the head of the church. Well does a celebrated historian remark, "The crusades retarded the march of civilization, thickened the clouds of ignorance and superstition, and encouraged intolerance, cruelty and fierceness. Religion lost its mildness and charity; and war its mitigating qualities of honor and courtesy. Such were the bitter fruits of the Holy wars."

These same wars gave rise to two orders of military friars; the Knights of the Temple, and the Knights of St. John, afterwards known as the Knights of Malta. These were peculiarly the soldiers of the church. They assumed various religious vows, devoted themselves to war, and received from popes and councils, honors and privileges. The Knights of Malta at one time took the diabolical oath, never to make peace with infidels.

Centuries have rolled away since the crusades terminated in the defeat and shame of Christendom, and yet little advance has been made by the Church of Rome towards the principles and object of our association. At the present moment, the bishop of Rome maintains his forts and army; and the entrance to his dwelling is guarded by soldiers.

If we turn to the Protestant church, we shall be at a loss to discover wherein it differs from its great rival, on the

subject of war. It would be easy to show that its clergy, without exception of sect, have exerted their spiritual influence to induce the people of their charge to contend in mortal strife with their fellow-men. A very eminent divine, and the president of one of our colleges before the revolution, preached various sermons to induce his countrymen to fight the enemy. A single quotation will suffice to show his militant spirit. “*Virginians, Christians, Protestants!* if these names have any import or energy, will you not strike home in such a cause? Yes, this view of the matter must fire you into men. Methinks the cowardly soul must tremble, lest the imprecation of the prophet fall upon him, ‘Cursed be the man that keepeth back his sword from blood.’”

During our last contest with Great Britain, a Presbyterian clergyman preached a series of sermons in vindication of the war, and afterwards published them in a volume. During the same war, the pastor of a New England parish volunteered with a portion of his parishioners, led them to the camp, and fought with them in an important battle.

While we gratefully and cheerfully acknowledge the efficient services of our reverend fellow-laborers, and rejoice that their number is rapidly increasing; it must, nevertheless, be admitted, that the folly and sinfulness of war and the inconsistency of military ambition with the spirit of Christianity, are themes rarely discussed in our pulpits.

There is little reason to hope that the Church of England, great and powerful as she is, is doing the work of peace societies. In her liturgy are the following petitions for the queen:—“Strengthen her that she may vanquish and overcome all her enemies.” “Be her defender and keeper, giving her the victory over all her enemies.” Thus does the whole church unitedly beseech the God of mercy and of justice to crown the British arms with success against whomsoever they may be turned, and without any regard to the

character of the war in which they may be employed. It is to the credit of the Protestant Episcopal Church in this country, that her liturgy contains no prayer for victory over public enemies, but only for deliverance from them. It is not, however, in its prayers alone that the English Church displays her martial spirit. Statues and monuments to men, whose sole merit was their courage and skill in battle, adorn her cathedrals, while standards, captured in bloody combat, are suspended from the walls. In this respect there is but little difference between the religion of Rome and of England. In a church in France about one hundred flags, the trophies of victory, are conspicuously displayed.

We have already referred to the former practice of the Romish clergy of consecrating the swords of the knights. A ceremony equally abhorrent to the benign principles of the gospel of Jesus Christ is to this day performed by certain of the English clergy, although it is but just to say, without the slightest warrant from the liturgy or canons of their church. The following paragraph appeared not long since in an English paper:—

“THE CHURCH MILITANT.—An important addition has been lately made to the Salisbury cathedral. The 42d regiment having been presented with new colors, gave the old ones to the dean and chapter, who, taking into consideration the reverence due to two flags which had been CONSECRATED, have caused them to be hung up in the choir, opposite the bishop’s throne, in a convenient spot, it is said, for intercepting the sun from his lordship’s eyes!”

The present of two consecrated pieces of silk or bunting to a body of Protestant clergymen, the acceptance by them of the strange, if not insulting gift, and the deposit of it in the house of God, is indeed a piece of irreverent foolery that may well excite the ridicule of the press. Unhappily this ungodly practice of consecrating flags is but too frequent in

England. The London Times gives the speech of the Duke of Wellington, on presenting a new stand of colors to the 72d regiment of Highlanders, in which the Duke makes to the Scotch Presbyterians before him the important announcement, "These colors have been *consecrated* by one of the highest dignitaries of the church!"

These consecrations are usually preceded by an address from the officiating minister in vindication of war, and in commendation of military glory. So late as September last, the venerable Archdeacon Musgrave consecrated the flags of the Second West York Yeomanry regiment, and availed himself of the opportunity to assail the sentiments and labors of peace societies. But perhaps the most painful of all the recent consecrations are those which involve, it might almost be said desecrate, the name of Wilberforce,—a name that recalls one of the most lovely and perfect illustrations of Christianity ever exhibited by uninspired man. Twice has a dignitary of the church, bearing this beloved name, officiated in the consecration of military flags! Once for the 73d, and again for the 44th regiments. It would seem that Archdeacon Wilberforce, not being able to find a prayer for the purpose in his liturgy, has prepared a form for his own use, varying it only as to the names of the countries in which the regiments he addresses have been employed in the work of human destruction. Thus we have the petition, "Be thou in the midst of our hosts, as thou wast in the plains of India, and on the field of Waterloo." On another occasion it is, "Be thou in the midst of our hosts, as thou wast with these thy servants at Badajos and Waterloo."

It is to be regretted that the Archdeacon did not give us the evidence on which he founds his solemn and positive assertion of the Divine presence with the British troops at the battles of Waterloo and Badajos, and at their various slaughters in India. Is the evidence to be found in the

victories gained by these troops? Then surely the Almighty was equally present with the French hosts on the fields of Marengo, Jena and Austerlitz. But perhaps the speaker referred to the preservation of the survivors. Then is God equally present with every soldier of every nation who returns unscathed from the field of battle. We are assured that the Deity was present with the British soldiers on the plains of India. Are we to infer from this his approbation of their conduct? One of these occasions of the Divine presence is thus described by Sir Arthur Wellesley. "I have taken and destroyed Dhoomiah's baggage and six guns, and driven into the Malpoorba, *where there were drowned* about five thousand people. I stormed Dummel on the 26th of July. Dhoomiah's followers are quitting him apace, as they do not think the amusement very gratifying at the present moment."

How far the character of the warfare waged on the plains of India has been such as to invite the favoring presence of Almighty God, we will not inquire, but content ourselves with quoting the language of a late English periodical. "The lust of gold and the lust of power might be inscribed on every flag and every color that was ever carried before our embattled hosts in that land of untold wrongs and oppressions,—that land of plunder and rapine."

The exact formula of consecration appears, from the Archdeacon's published prayers, to be the following: "Bless especially, we pray thee, these thy servants (the regiment); guard them in the day of battle; and may these banners, which WE BLESS AND CONSECRATE this day, lead them ever on to *glorious* victory; may they always be unfurled in the cause of truth and right, for our queen and country, and our God."

There has been much discussion of late, both in England and the United States, as to the necessity of apostolical

succession, to the validity of certain ministerial acts. Whether the power of consecrating military flags is one of the exclusive prerogatives claimed by those who insist on their descent from the apostles, is a question which, it is believed, has not been mooted ; probably from the difficulty of finding a precedent, either in Scripture or the primitive church.

One of the addresses delivered by Archdeacon Wilberforce previous to consecration is given in a London publication. The ceremony, it seems, took place in "an innumerable assemblage of persons." The colors were presented by Lady Pakenham. The venerable Archdeacon commenced his address to the soldiers by saying to them, " You are brought here in the presence of these your countrymen, under the eyes of distinguished commanders, to receive from the *fairest* among us the new colors which the queen commits to your keeping ; and here you are met by the ministers of Christ's church, by the special servants of the Prince of Peace." But there are still stranger things in the address. The soldiers are told, " These colors, which are soon to float upon the breeze which echoes with your martial music, which are to lead you to victory in the din and carnage of the battle-field, now lie before you in the *form of the holy cross*, in which is all your hope of salvation !! " The soldiers are, moreover, exhorted in the following wonderful strain : " May you never forget that you are Christian men, in thinking yourselves soldiers ; but remember you are, therefore, soldiers, because you are most truly Christian men." It is certainly unexpected information, that the 73d regiment of the British army are "most truly Christian men," and that *therefore* they are soldiers. The Duke of Wellington, who is, perhaps, as well acquainted with the character of the army as the Archdeacon himself, entertains a somewhat different opinion. Some years since, a British

officer * resigned his commission, because he could not conscientiously partake in the military honors which the British soldiers were required, from motives of policy, to pay to certain idolatrous rites. His Grace, in referring to the occurrence in the House of Lords, is reported to have said, that the officer "did right to resign, and that men who have nice notions about religion, have no business to be soldiers."

We have still a fifth instance to notice of this solemn mummary, more surprising, perhaps, than either of the others, from the striking inconsistency of the act with the general pious and exemplary character of the consecrator. That Bishop Sumner, of Winchester, should prostitute his high and holy office by consecrating flags, and that he should be so dazzled by the glare of military glory as to be blind to the anti-Christian tendency of some of his sentiments, affords painful evidence that the church herself has yet much to learn from the humble and often despised members of peace societies. The London Times contains the address made by the Bishop the 27th of last August, on consecrating the flags of the 49th regiment, just returned from China.

The Bishop, we are told, "came upon the ground attended by a number of the clergy of the diocese," and before the consecrating prayer delivered an address to the soldiers. From this eulogy on military glory, we can afford room for only one extract. "I may bid you look back with thankfulness and honest exultation on laurels won in Holland and at Copenhagen, in Quebec and China. It would have been heart-stirring to the coldest and least enthusiastic, to have heard the praises of those your last exploits in China, from the lips of the great captain of the age, the illustrious commander-in-chief of the British armies, when in his place in Parliament he moved the thanks of the house for your gallant

* Sir Peregrine Maitland, it is believed.

deeds. Those were praises worth living and worth dying for!"

Nothing in the melancholy review we have taken of the relation borne by the Christian church to war, is so startling and revolting as this most extraordinary address. In vain do we seek, in the language of the popes to the crusaders, sentiments more abhorrent to Christianity. The soldiers of the cross were urged to sacrifice their own lives in slaughtering the heathen; but then the self-immolation was to be made for the glory of God and the salvation of their own souls. But the 49th regiment are not only taught by a Christian bishop to exult in their laurels, but are assured that the applause of Arthur, Duke of Wellington, is an adequate compensation for the trials and sufferings of this life, and even for being finally shot or bayoneted on the field of battle! Surely the Bishop forgot, for the moment,

"T is not the whole of life to live,
Nor all of death to die."

And what, we may ask, invested the praise of the Duke with this inestimable value? Did the applause of his Grace necessarily imply the Divine approbation, and consequently a promise of future felicity, the language of the Bishop would be intelligible. Archdeacon Wilberforce indeed assures us that the *soldiers* of the 73d are "most truly Christian men;" but even the Bishop himself bears no testimony to the piety, much less to the inspiration of the iron Duke. The eulogist of the 49th is "the great captain of the age, the illustrious commander-in-chief of the British armies." A few years since, Napoleon was emphatically *the* great captain of the age, and the illustrious commander-in-chief of most of the armies of Europe. Will the Bishop admit that the praises of the French emperor were worth living and worth dying for? And after all, what were, in fact, these inestimable

praises? Did the Duke applaud the humility and holiness of the 49th, or any one quality commended by Christ and his apostles? Alas! it is difficult to conceive of any topics of this eulogy except the discipline of the troops, their bravery in exposing their own lives, and their skill in taking the lives of the Chinese. Of this skill, Captain Bingham gives us the following specimen in his account of the capture of Ningpo: "On the Chinese penetrating to the market-place, in the centre of the city, they were received by a heavy fire from our troops. This sudden check so damped their ardor that their only object appeared to be to get out of the city as fast as possible; in doing which, they were crowded in dense masses in the narrow streets. The artillery now coming up within one hundred yards of the crowded *fugitives*, poured in a destructive fire of grape and canister. So awful was the destruction of human life, that the bodies were obliged to be removed to the sides of the street, to allow the guns to advance; and the pursuit was followed up by the artillery and the 49th regiment (the very men addressed by the Bishop) for miles." In this massacre of flying and unresisting men, **NINE THOUSAND** Chinese were slaughtered.

It is unnecessary to pursue our inquiry farther. Surely the view we have taken of the conduct of the church, both in ancient and modern times, in promoting war, and stimulating the thirst for military glory, affords a most abundant justification to the friends of peace, for not dissolving their amalgamation societies, and abandoning their cause to the exclusive guardianship of the clergy.

It is very far from my intention to impeach the piety or sincerity of those who differ from us in our views of the religious and political evils of war. But it is right and wise to know the obstacles which oppose our progress, that we may take the proper measures for removing them. It is not uncommon for those who are engaged in the enunciation of

great principles, to fail in the application of them to the common duties and occurrences of life. This remark is daily illustrated in the conduct of politicians; and even the clergy themselves afford instances of its truth. Few men, I am persuaded, dwell with more unaffected earnestness on that universal charity required by the gospel; on that broken, humble spirit which is, in the sight of God, of great price; or on the utter worthlessness of earthly splendor and human applause, than the excellent Bishop of Winchester. Yet the prejudices of education and the force of custom, and, above all, the want of reflection, led him, in his unhappy address, to set at naught the very precepts he inculcates from the pulpit.

In our pursuit of objects which we believe are sanctioned by the will of God, and demanded by the well-being of our race, we ought not to be turned aside by the mere example of others, however eminent for rank or for virtue. The church will be, as she already has been, a mighty instrument in the moral regeneration of the world; and she is to be strengthened for the work, not by a blind submission to her authority, but by the invigorating influence of Christian vigilance on the part of her members.

Having exhibited the malign influence which the church has exerted on the cause of peace, it may be useful as well as gratifying to adduce the testimony borne in its behalf by some distinguished laymen. This testimony is very ample, but we have room for only a few brief specimens.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH confesses that "there is no profession so unprosperous as men of war. Besides the envy and jealousy of men, the spoils, rapes, famines, slaughter of the innocent, devastation and burnings, with a world of miseries laid on the laboring man, they are so hateful to God, as with good reason did Monluc, the Marshal of

France, confess, ‘that were not the mercies of God infinite and without restriction, it were in vain for those of his profession to hope for any portion of them, seeing the cruelties by them permitted and committed are also infinite.’”

“War,” said the sagacious **LORD BURLEIGH**, “is the curse, and peace the blessing, of a country. A realm gaineth more by one year’s peace, than by ten years’ war.”

LORD CLARENDON wrote fully and strongly against war. He remarks, “A whole city on fire is a spectacle full of horror, but a whole kingdom on fire must be a prospect more terrible; and such is every kingdom in war, where nothing flourishes, but rapine, blood and murder. We cannot make a more lively representation and emblem to ourselves of hell, than by the view of a kingdom in war.

“War breaks all that order, interrupts all that devotion, and extinguishes all that zeal, which peace had kindled in us. It lays waste the dwelling-place of God as well as of man, and introduces opinions and practices as much against heaven, as against earth, and erects a Deity that desires nothing but cruelty and blood.

“It may be, upon a strict survey and disquisition into the elements and injunctions of the Christian religion, that *no war will be found justifiable.*”

NECKAR, in his work on the French finances, alluding to war, exclaims, “With what impatience have I wished to discuss this subject! How irresistibly has my heart been led to expatiate on the evils which are ever attendant on this terrible calamity! War, alas, impedes the course of every salutary plan, exhausts the sources of prosperity, and diverts the attention of governors from the happiness of nations. In a word, instead of gentle and benevolent feelings, it substi-

tutes hostility and hatred, the necessity of oppression, and the rage of desolation. What must be our impression, if we add to the waste of property the calamities inseparable from war, and endeavor to form an estimate of the lives and sufferings of men!"

Our own WASHINGTON, in his correspondence, remarks, "How much more delightful to an undebauched mind is the task of making improvements on the earth, than all the vain-glory which can be acquired by ravaging it by the most uninterrupted career of conquests. For the sake of humanity it is devoutly to be wished, that the manly employments of agriculture, and the harmonizing effects of commerce, should supersede the waste of war and the ravages of conquest; that swords may be turned into plough-shares, and spears into pruning-hooks, as the Scriptures express it, and the nations learn war no more."

FRANKLIN, writing to a friend in Europe, says, "How many excellent things might have been done to promote the internal welfare of each country; what bridges, roads, canals and other useful works, tending to the common felicity, might have been made and established with the money and men foolishly spent in the last seven years, by our mad wars, in doing one another mischief. You are near neighbors, and each has very respectable qualities. You are all Christians; one is the most Christian king, the other, defender of the faith. Manifest the propriety of these titles by your future conduct. By *this*, says Christ, shall all men know ye are my disciples, if ye love one another; seek peace and ensue it."

LOUIS BUONAPARTE, nursed amid the din of arms, and indebted to conquest for the crown of Holland, thus wrote:

"I have been as enthusiastic and joyful as any one after victory; but I confess that even then the sight of a field of battle not only struck me with horror, but even turned me sick. And now that I am advanced in life, I cannot understand, any more than I could at fifteen years of age, how beings, who call themselves reasonable, and who have so much foresight, can employ this short existence, not in loving and aiding each other, and passing through it as gently as possible, but in striving, on the contrary, to destroy each other, as though time did not do this with sufficient rapidity."

LORD BROUGHAM, in one of his speeches in the House of Lords, exclaimed, "I abominate war as unchristian. I hold it the greatest of human crimes. I deem it to involve all others, violence, blood, rapine, fraud, every thing that can deform the character, alter the nature, and debase the name of man."

GEORGE CANNING, while prime minister of England, made the following remarkable declaration in a speech on the importance of preserving peace: "In the whole history of wars between European powers, who ever heard of a war between two great nations having been ended by obtaining the exact identical object for which the war was begun? I believe that in the whole history of Europe, such an instance cannot be found."

But perhaps the most cheering and important testimony in favor of peace that modern times afford, is that given by the present wise and experienced ruler of France. In 1843, a deputation from the London Peace Convention waited on the king, in Paris, to recommend the insertion of a clause in all the treaties he might hereafter make, providing for the submission to arbitration of any disputes which might subse-

quently arise between the contracting parties. Far from treating this recommendation by foreigners as an improper interference with his prerogatives, or with the affairs of the French nation, he received the deputation with great kindness and courtesy. He assured them "he had ever been pleased when arbitration was resorted to, as in the case between the United States and Mexico, and between England and America. He said he confidently believed the time would come when such references would be general, and when war would be universally banished from among civilized nations. That the sentiment, or rather the principle, that *in peace you must prepare for war*, was one of difficulty and danger; for while we kept armies on hand to preserve peace, they are, at the same time, incentives and instruments of war. He rejoiced in all efforts made to preserve peace, for that was what all need. He thought the time was coming when we shall get rid of war entirely in all civilized countries. They are beginning to learn more wisdom, and, thank God, war now costs too much for nations to afford it."

To LOUIS PHILIPPE may probably be ascribed the honor of being the first occupant of a throne, who ever confessed that peace was endangered by preparation for war. The hoary maxim disclaimed by the French king is branded with falsehood by the testimony of all history, and by the experience of every-day life. The strongest nations have universally been the most belligerent, while the feebler ones have enjoyed the longest and most frequent exemptions from the calamities of war. The same principle applies with equal uniformity to individuals as to nations. The expert swordsman, the practised marksman, is ever more ready to engage in personal combats, than the man who is unaccustomed to the use of deadly weapons. In those portions of our country

where it is supposed essential to personal safety to go armed with pistols and bowie-knives, mortal affrays are so frequent as to excite but little attention, and to secure, with exceedingly rare exceptions, perfect impunity to the murderer. Whereas at the north and east, where we are unprovided with such facilities for taking life, comparatively few murders of the kind are perpetrated. We might, indeed, safely submit the decision of the principle we are discussing to the calculations of pecuniary interest. Let two men, equal in age and health, apply for an insurance on their lives. One, known to be ever armed to defend his honor and his life against every assailant; and the other, a meek, unresisting Quaker. Can we doubt for a moment which of these men would be deemed by an insurance company most likely to reach a good old age?

But in defiance of reason and experience, the maxim, that to preserve peace we must be prepared for war, has taken such a strong hold on the minds, not merely of kings and rulers, but even of the mass of the people, whether in monarchies or republics, that no burdens are so cheerfully borne as those which, in time of peace, are imposed for the purpose of preparing for future wars.

The fortifications around Paris forcibly illustrate this remark. A few years since, several of the European powers determined to interfere between the Ottoman Porte and the Pasha of Egypt, to arrest the victorious but desolating progress of the latter. France, although invited, declined to become a party to the treaty of intervention, and these powers proceeded to act without her co-operation. Certain demagogues availed themselves of this occasion to bring their patriotism to market. A war-cry was raised. The honor of France was insulted, and an alliance forming against her independence. Already, in imagination, her soil was polluted by the presence of hostile armies, advancing upon her

beautiful capital. A shout arose that Paris must be fortified. The Chambers bowed to the popular will, and prodigious appropriations were voted. The people who had joined in the clamor were rewarded for their pains by an increase of their taxes, and their leaders, soon after, with the loss of both office and public confidence.

These fortifications have been ascribed, but very erroneously it is believed, to a desire on the part of Louis Philippe to overawe Paris. He did not ask for, although he did not oppose their construction. The vast sums expended on them necessarily increases the patronage of the crown, and affords employment to a numerous and rather dangerous population. The demand for these works came from the popular leaders, and hence while the government reaps the advantage, it avoids the odium of the lavish expenditures they occasion. The fortifications consist of a belt of masonry surrounding the whole city, but at some distance from it, and about thirty-five miles in circumference; while on the outside of the wall will be a wide ditch filled with water. Still beyond this belt is a circle of fourteen detached forts. These works are, to all appearance, utterly incapable of being used against Paris, and should, unhappily, the experiment ever be made, they will probably be found no less inefficient for its protection.

In the present state of European politics, and with the publicity now given to the intentions and movements of governments, it is wholly impossible that Paris should be assaulted in a sudden and unexpected foray from any of the adjoining states. No hostile army will be permitted to approach the capital until after France is a conquered country; and it is futile to suppose that a victorious army, having driven from the field the defenders of the kingdom, will be unable to effect a breach in a wall thirty-five miles in extent. On the whole, the fortifications of Paris are a reproach to

the liberal and enlightened spirit of the age, and afford a mortifying proof of the influence of demagogues, operating upon popular folly and delusion.

It is scarcely possible for mere description to give any adequate idea of the amazing amount of labor and treasure wasted in the Old World, on works of defence. At Gibraltar rises a lofty mountain of rock. Around its base is a series of fortifications, constructed of masonry. The interior is chiselled into numerous galleries and spacious chambers; and its surface, to a great altitude, bristles with cannon, protruding from within. This rock, standing almost entirely in the water, and connected with the main by a low, narrow neck, is unassailable by land; and, at the same time, it might bid defiance to the combined navies of the world. Napoleon, with the resources of the continent at his command, avoided the rashness of attempting to wrest this important fortress from his enemy. Yet England, faithful to the maxim of preparing for war in time of peace, is even now yearly lavishing thousands in adding new defences to this impregnable rock.

The island of Malta attests the tyranny, pride and folly of its ecclesiastical knights, who devoted themselves to the defence of Christianity, by killing its enemies. In viewing the fortifications of this little island, it is painful to reflect on the cruel despotism which enforced such a tremendous misapplication of human industry. Probably no spot on earth, of equal dimensions, is so burthened with walls, and towers, and castles, and ditches, and covered ways, and fortified gates. The labor expended in these stupendous works would have built a city of no mean size. And all for what purpose? To gratify the pride of a handful of military friars, and to protect them from the Turks, with whom they had sworn never to make peace. Yet in spite of these enormous and multiplied defences, the island was taken by

Napoleon, when on his way to Egypt. The French garrison left by him, soon after experienced the truth of the proverb, that hunger will break through stone walls, being starved into a surrender by the blockade of a few English frigates.

While the military works of Malta proclaim the power and oppression of the knights, their massive and splendid palaces, and gorgeous churches, bear witness to the wealth and luxury of these soldiers of the church, on whom rested the vow of poverty. Let us be thankful for the extinction of the order; and let us pray that the church of Christ may never bestow her applause on men who adopt the trade of blood, through a professed zeal for her service.

If we take a survey of Europe at the present day, we cannot but be struck with the vast advantages she has derived from the long peace with which she has been favored. War cements and concentrates power, while peace is ever favorable to the rights and liberties of the many. The cause of freedom in Europe has advanced since the fall of Napoleon; while institutions and improvements conducive to the comfort of the people have made great progress. It is, however, painful to reflect that this blessed season of peace is so universally employed in preparing for war.

Prussia has adopted a system by which the whole male population is to be converted into soldiers. Every man, between twenty and twenty-five years of age, whatever be his rank or condition in life, is compelled to serve for three successive years in the army, and from his twenty-sixth to his thirty-second year, he is called out for exercise and field manœuvres fourteen days in each year. By this system, every man is withdrawn for upwards of three years from his business and family, and exposed to the hardships and temptations of a soldier's life. Were such a levy of men demanded for the construction of roads, canals, or other

useful works, the nation would rise in rebellion against such abominable and insufferable tyranny; but as all this time is merely devoted to tuition in the art of human destruction, the sacrifice is willingly made, and the government that exacts it is extolled for its wisdom and patriotism. The military preparations of Prussia are said to cost about forty-four per cent. of the total expenditure of the crown.

The peace establishment of Austria is estimated, by European writers, as absorbing about thirty-three per cent. of the revenues of the empire.

The following facts are gleaned from a late English statistical work:—*

For the six years ending with 1836, the average expenditure of the British government, exclusive of payments for interest on the national debt, was - - - - - £17,101,508
 Of this sum, there was paid, on an average, for the army, navy and ordinance, - - - - - 12,714,289
 Leaving an average annual expenditure, for civil purposes, of only - - - - - 4,387,219

It thus appears, that the payments for military preparations, for this period, are no less than seventy-four per cent. of the current expenses of the British kingdom.

During the same six years, the average annual expenditure of the French government, exclusive of payments for interest on the national debt, was - - - - - £37,044,251
 Of this was paid for military purposes, on an average, - - - - - 14,271,352
 Leaving an annual average expenditure, for civil purposes, of - - - - - 22,772,899

* Porter's Progress of the Nation. Vol. II.

Hence the payments for military preparations amount to thirty-eight per cent. of the current expenses of the kingdom.

These statements involve several unexpected and instructive results. It seems almost incredible that the civil expenses of Great Britain should amount to only four and a half millions of pounds; and the smallness of the sum certainly indicates great economy and strict accountability in the administration of the government. It is also unexpected to find that France spends for civil purposes about five times as much as Great Britain, while her payments for military preparations slightly exceed those of the other power. The explanation of these facts is found in the debt, literally the *war debt*, of Great Britain. During the six years referred to, the average payment for interest on this debt was £28,574,829, a sum more than the whole civil expenditure of France, and six times that of Britain herself. If to this amount of interest we add the average sum paid for military purposes, we have the astonishing sum total of £41,289,118, yearly paid in preparing for future wars, and as a penance for those that are past. Now this sum forms ninety per cent. of the whole expenditure of the United Kingdom!! So astounding is this result, that we can scarcely believe the evidence of figures themselves; and would fain flatter ourselves that there must be some error in our calculations, rather than admit that nine-tenths of all the burdens imposed on the food, the industry, the comforts and enjoyments of the people of Great Britain, are an oblation offered on the altar of war. We now perceive the reason of the very limited expenditures for civil purposes. The government has little or no money to spend, except for objects of absolute necessity. The army, navy and fortifications, and the interest on the debt, forbid large appropriations for internal improvements, and for the purposes of education. The revenue of France, for the period I have mentioned, is six or

seven millions less, per annum, than that of Great Britain, but the interest due on her debt is comparatively trifling, and hence it is that her civil expenditures so greatly exceed those of her neighbor.

These terrific statements may possibly induce some who hear me to congratulate themselves that such abuses cannot exist in a country of freedom and intelligence like our own. Alas, for the honor of our republic, the payments of the Federal government for military preparations bear a greater proportion to the other expenses of government, than in any other country under heaven. This is a bold assertion, but it is justified by facts.

The average expenditures of the government for the six years ending with 1840, exclusive of payments on account of debt, was - \$26,474,892

For military and naval purposes, average per year, - - - - - - - - - 21,328,903

Being eighty per cent. of the whole amount! *

We have now seen that the cost of military preparations, is to the whole expenditure of government, exclusive of payments on account of debt,

In Austria, as 33 per cent.,

In France, as 38 per cent.,

In Prussia, as 44 per cent.,

In Great Britain, as 74 per cent.,

In the UNITED STATES, 80 per cent.!

And let it be remembered, that to the payments of the Federal government is to be added the cost, by the States, of arming and drilling a militia of a million and a half of men. Surely it is time for Christians and patriots, both in Europe

* It is true that a portion of this time we were fighting a few Seminole Indians in Florida. If we take the six years ending with 1836, the ratio is seventy-seven per cent.—See *American Almanac for 1845*, page 143.

and America, to inquire how far a system of military preparations, which imposes such onerous burthens on human industry, and exacts such cruel sacrifices of human happiness, comfort and virtue, is really essential to the public welfare. Be it the part of peace societies to facilitate such an inquiry, by spreading before the community well-authenticated facts, and dispassionate arguments. Let us address ourselves to the consciences and to the understandings of our fellow-men. We have much to encourage us in our labors, independent of the conviction that we are seeking only the good of the human family.

Christians of every name are ready to unite in the anthem of the angelic host, "Glory to God on high;" but O let us remember that our praise will be a vain oblation unless we can also join in the prayer of the same heavenly visitants, "Peace on earth, and good-will towards men."

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